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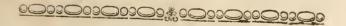
TO, AND CONSIDERATIONS

FOR

The Electors of Members to serve in the ensuing Parliament.

WITH

EXTRACTS for the Service of fuch as refide in the Country.



ADVICE

TO, AND

Confiderations

FOR THE

ELECTORS

Of Members to serve in the ensuing Parliament.

WITH

EXTRACTS for the better Information of fuch as refide in the Country.

The Second Edition.

The Part we have acted in the Conduct of The Late Peace, with Reference to our Allies abroad, and to a prevailing Faction at Home, is what I shall now particular examine; where I presume it will appear by plain Matters of Fact, that no Nation was ever so scandalously abused by the Folly, the Temerity, the Corruption, the Ambition of its Domestick Encines; or treated with so much Insolence, Injustice and Ingratitude by its (New) foreign Friends.

Conduct of the Allies

LONDON:

Printed, and Sold by R. Burleigh, in Amen-Corner. 1715. Price 6 d.



THE

PREFACE.



Am very sensible there are several Pieces lately published of this Nature, which may be thought more conducive to the End designed, than this; therefore I think my self obliged to say something, why I offer it to the Publick.

I take it for granted, that the main

Body of the People are for the Good of

their Country; the Honour, Safety, Welfare and Happiness of it, which ought to be supported and maintain'd by those Gentlemen we appoint as the most proper for that End, in our Choice of them for Members of Parliament; therefore we ought to chuse such who have distinguished themselves in promoting the Interest of their Country, and avoid those who have committed any Action, or are of a Disposition whose Tendency is satal thereto.

But having resided for about two Years past mostly in the Country, I observe that the greater Part are very little acquainted with the Transactions of this Kingdom for some Years past, but especially the Publick Affairs in Parliament; nor endeavour to inform themselves of them, but take things in general, as delivered down by some Chief of the Party, they like or dislike, not upon the Foundation of Reason, but Prejudice.

The PREFACE.

The late Books publified on this Occasion, being mostly wit in general Terms, will be of little Service, by reason they w! be accepted no otherwise than as being writ for this or the Party; I have therefore rather instanced particular Fal. than made use of many Arguments in the following Sheets, I cause I am art to believe, when my Countrymen soall find su things to have been transacted, and know by whom we were r duced to the Brink of Destruction, from the highest Pitch Glory and Success; who gave away all when we might ba received what we would have demanded; they will with t. greatest Horror avoid those Enemies to their Country, at chuse such alone, who can retrieve our Affairs, and raise t. Nation to that Glory from which it fell by the Treachery Men corrupted to betray us and our Posterity to France.

I have added some Extracts which demonstrate those Fall and the Sense which true Patriots, concerned for the Interest these Kingdoms, had of them at the time they were afted; ar Shall conclude, for Recsons must occur to the Reader, wil the following from a Book entitled, The Barrier Treaty Vis

dicated, p. 10 and 11. Printed 1712.

" Since therefore no Question can be made, but the " the Pretender, wherever he removes, will always b " supported by France, and that that Crown will by the " Terms of Peace be in a better Condition to do it, tha " even at the Time when these Promises first were mad " and fince nothing but Power is a reasonable Securit " against Power, it might justly have been thought a " unpardonable Omission in the late Ministry, had the " not opposed a foreign Alliance against a foreign Ene " my, and provided a Ballance of Power in Support of " the Protestant Succession, equal to that which is engage " ged in its Disturbance.

"Were the Succession either not disputed, or the Dis " puter of it not upheld by a foreign Power, or England ? " lone a Match for that Power; were she, in the Stile of " late self-sufficient Writer, able to defend her sel " against all Her Majesty's Enemies and Allies put toge "ther, then indeed it wou'd betray an unnecessary Fea

" to trouble our felves about forming foreign Alliance on this, or any other Occasion.

Bul

The PREFACE.

"Bur that this is far enough from being the Case, our " new Politicians are forward enough to own, when it " ferves their Purpose. It is not unpleasant to observe them-" contradicting themselves; to hear them gravely doubt-" ing whether they shou'd end one War out of Necessia-" ty, or begin another out of Wantonness: If the supposed Pride and Stubborness of a few Dutch Provinces is to be chastised; then Great-Britain is set forth with " her Shield and Spear, and all the Emblems of her " Greatness are displayed; then her Successes can be re-" membred, her Riches confessed, her Power magnified; " alone the conquers Provinces, and reduces Kingdoms, " and threatens to cope with Friend and Enemy. But " is an ill Peace to be forc'd upon her, immediately the " very same Hands fall to work to strip her of all her "Grandeur, both imaginary and real: She is made to " confess Wants she never felt, and Weaknesses she was " never guilty of: All on a sudden she is dispeopled by "War, impoverished by Taxes, eaten up by Debts: " overspread with Profaness, torn in Pieces with Faction, " imposed upon by foreign Friends, and plundered by do-" mestick Enemies. This is the Dress in which she is made " to believe it will best become her to supplicate for Peace, "This is the moving Figure by which she is to soften " that obdurate Enemy, whom her many Successes have " not yet been able to compel to Reason: Since hum-" bling him proves a Work of Labour and Difficulty, " the shorter and cheaper Way, she is told, is to humble " he self; to cancel her past Successes by Inaction; to " expiate her Zeal in forming Alliances, by abandoning " her Allies; and her Forwardness in pushing the "War, by yielding up the most valuable Fruits of her " Victories.

N. B. The Book from which I have taken the above, fully vindicates the noble Lord that negotiated the Treaty, and the Lords of the Council who advised the Ratification of it; which was contrived for enabling Great-Britain to hold the Ballance of Europe; and for securing to her not the Name and Shadow, but the solid Blessings of a safe and lasting Peace:

But

The PREFACE.

But because such uncommon Industry was used to draw the Nation into a Belief that their Trade was not only neglected, but facrificed in this Treaty, I would recommend my Countrymen to read this Book, where they will find, that our Trade, as well as our other most valuable Interests, were secured by it in the most effectual manner; and that the House of Austria, the Queen, and the States, when they went into the War, tied themselves from making Peace, till England and Holland should obtain the same Privileges of Trade to all the Spanish Dominions, as both, or either of them had a Right to, whether

by Treaties, Agreement, Custom, or any other Way.

All Persons that have lived in Spain, know that the Subicets of Great-Britain have not in Fact been any ways distinguished in their Commerce more, nor by any Treaty, Custom, or Prescription, enjoyed greater Privileges of Trade, than the Dutch; and will likewise find on Examination, that (notwithstanding the Clamours 4 Years ago on this Head) the Dutch have all the Privileges of Trade to all the Spanish Dominions granted them by King Philip, that they ever enjoyed, or any Nation has in Spain; which the' we would not guarantee, when the Doing of it was reciprocal, the French King did it, as may be feen by the Treaty of Peace between France and Holland: Therefore the violent Anger of the Faction against this Treaty, seems to have been, that it not only prevented any future Attempts from abroad, in favour of the Pretender, by supporting the Protestant Interest in general, and securing the Protestant Succesfrom in particular; but likewise obstructed the Design of an ill. Peace; for by this Treaty, Spain and the Indies could not have been given up to the Duke of Anjou, Grandson to the French King; and therefore, right or wrong, it was to be damned.

Can Brit ns think such Men deserving the Trust of representing them in Parliament; or that they were heartily in the Interest of the Protestant Succession; who voted my Lord Townshend that made, and the Lords of the Council that advised the Ratissication of the Barrier Treaty between Great-Britain and the States General, Enemies to Her Majesty, and

Her Kingdoms?



ADVICE

TO, AND

CONSIDERATIONS

FOR

The Electors of Members to serve in the ensuing Parliament.

S to your present Election, see that you do not fatally lose your selves by your own Choice, but shew a due Regard to God's Providence, and be eareful to fix to Men you know to be steady and well affected the Government, who are able, and bold to serve you in romoting the present Establishment. Betray not the common atterest of your Country, by a base Election: Let not the Rempence of private Favours from a Neighbour, Money or

Treating influence your Choice: Use your Freedom, and be not soothed or bribed about that, which in our Constitution

is the greatest Bulwark of the ancient Liberties.

Seriously weigh, and regard these following Particulars. Consider who have served you with Fidelity and Courage, and the Principles of those Men who withstood the arbitrary and violent Attempts in the Reigns of King Charles and King James, and were in those Days for putting a Stop to the Defigns of the French King on the Liberties of Europe.

Consider and make not Choice of those Persons that were against the Settlement of the Crowns on the immortal King William, and in the Illustrious House of Hanover, and have maintained and abetted such Notions (before and since Sacheverell's seditious Sermon at St. Paul's) as Hereditary, Indefeasable, Unalienable Right, who one may charitably believe

Enemies to His present Majesty King George's Title.

Consider who are the Men in the several Parts of this Kingdom, that entertained and cryed up (after the infamous Doctor had bellowed it) The Danger of the Church. By this popular and groundless Cry of the Church, the Nation became infatuated; by this fatal Prepossession the Persons that were taken soon upon it into Her late Majesty's Trust, and became Her Ministers, not only put an End to the most noble and formidable Alliance, but by the Treaties of Peace and Commerce with France and Spain, gave up all the Fruits of our Victories, and sacrificed the Trade and Navigation, and consequently the Interest of Great-Britain, to the House of Bourbon.

Confider who were the Perfons, and make not Choice of fuch whom 'twas impossible to make believe, without the Help of the Clergy, that when Mcn called Whigs were not in Power, anything could be in Danger: Whereas, to mention only some Particulars, our Trade was given up, our Allies abandoned, the most important Article never intentionally performed, Menlisted in this Kingdom and Ireland, for the Service of the Pretender, and the House of Bourbon made more formidable, and fairer for an universal Monarchy, and to engross the

whole Trade of Europe, than even before the War.

Consider who were the Persons in the two last Parliaments, that run into all the Measures of the then Ministry, and by such Means brought upon the Kingdom those Missortunes it now labours under in its Trade, &c. In one, voted the Peace safe, honourable, and advantageous, before they knew the Terms of it; and in the last did, (notwithstanding the Treasurs of Commerce with France and Spain were declared de-

struclei-

structive to the Trade and Manufactures of the Kingdom) the

same in order to justify the then Ministers.

Reflect on the Successes of the Allies in the late War against France, and the Face of Affairs in the Year 1710, or at the Change of the Ministry, nay in 1711-12, and colour to your felves the Prospect the Allies then had of having not only Spain and the Indies given up to the House of Austria, but from the French what Frontier thould be asked for the Security of Flanders and the Empite; and besides other Advantages to Great-Britain, a Renunciation of all Trade to the Spanish West-

Then consider if you can be served with Fidelity by such Men, as have not only approved and run into Measures so destructive to the Interest of their Country, but censured all our then Allies, and in a general Representation to the Queen, fummed up many great Frauds and Abuses, and Misapplications of Publick Money, (which they pretend to have detected) which Representation consisted either of Falsities, or Mistakes, or Misrepresentations; and that wherever the Fact is true, the same was done in the Time of my Lord Oxford, Bollingbrooke, Harcourt's Ministry, and was either justified, or not animadverted upon by the same Parliament.

Inform your selves who of the Persons that seek your Choice did vote for the Bill for making effectual the 8th and 9th Article of the Treaty of Commerce with France; which Bill the chief trading Cities, Towns and Places of Great-Britain, petitioned the House of Commons might not pass, as detrimental and destructive to the Trade and Manufacture, Navigation

and Riches of the Kingdom.

Consider, that, as by a Trade on the Foot of that Treaty with France, the Nation lost upwards of a Million a Year in the. Reign of King Charles II. fo the making effectual those Articles had been certainly (besides destructive of the Manufactures of the Kingdom, whereby Employment is found for the Poor) the Loss of its Trade to Italy, Spain, and Portugal, of the greatest Importance to the Nation, to preserve and encourage.

In your Choice have a Care not only of Temporizers, but Men of fearful Dispositions, who in the Day of your Distress, will abandon good Sense, Truthy and your real Interests, the Good and Prosperity of this Nation in its Interests and Alliances abroad, as well as in its Trade and Manufactures (as 'tis notorious very many in the two last Parliaments did) out of a Dread of the Dilpleasure of some great Men. B z Fling

Fling not your Choice upon Persecutors; such Men there are still amongst you: For tho' the Meetings of Dissenters are become as legal as those in your Churches, yet Men may be Persecutors though they are not able to persecute any longer, according to our Saviour's charging the Guilt of intended Sins on those who never acted them: Butcast your Votes upon Men of large Principles, such as would not sacrifice their Neighbours to the Frowardness of their own Party in Religion; such as will inviolably maintain Civil Rights for all that live soberly and regularly under the present Government.

Chuse sincere Protestants; Men who are pleased with, and thankful to God for our Deliverance at the Revolution, from arbitrary Power and Popery, and for His present Majesty King George's seasonable and quiet Accession to the Throne; such Men who wish Churchmen would be less severe, and Dissenters less scrupulous; Men who have zealously and boldly, in despite of Dangers, applied themselves to oppose the Popish Interest in this Kingdom, and the French Designs upon the

Liberty of Europe.

Seriously weigh and regard these farther Particulars.

Tho' the Debts to the Navy, Victualling, and other Services unprovided for, and Deficiencies of Money given yearly for the several Services, remain no longer on the Heads of such Services; yet they are not paid, but the Nation indebted those several Sums as much as before the erecting the South-Sea Company; and that there is paid the said Company for Interest, 500000 l. yearly; notwithstanding what has been said of paying such of the Nation's Debts without one Penny Charge to the People.

The Debt owing to the South-Sea Company arose thus in all publick Offices before the Administration complained of, or before Michaelmas 1702, 2897529 7. 19 4 4-3, during that Administration, or from Michaelmas 1702, to Michaelmas 1710, 38641501.19, 2 1-2. The Residue that makes up the capital Stock of the South-Sea Company, 94713251. 8. was for Interest of the Debts made Principal to, and Monies given for the Service of the Year 1711, &c. On Examination this will be found the State of the Case; and that the Extra Services, (such as Rebuilding Men of War lost in the great Storm, Bounty Money to Widows and Officers, &c. for which no Provision was made by Parliament) together with what was received short of what was given, by means of Deficiencies of the Fund, the Balance of the Debt that was incurred from Michaelmas 1702, to Michaelmas 1710, was not greater than the Sum of \$474 1. 13, 11, 1-4.

But

But including of these Extra Services, as the whole Debt incurred in eight Years does not exceed 3864150 1. 19. 2, 1-2. so it appears from authentick Accounts, that the Deficiency of the Funds in that time amounted to 1557540 1. 12, 9, 1-4, which reduces the Debt contracted in eight Years by the Wbig Ministry, to 2306610 l. 6, 5, 4-1, which is not 300000 l. a Year, one Year with another; and he that thinks it a great Mismanagement to incur a Debt of about 300000 l. per Annum, in all publick Offices, will wonder to find fince, one Year's Debt in the Navy only amounting to double that Sum, as appears by the Estimate of the Debt of

the Navy at Michaelmas 1711, given into Parliament.

This Exceeding of above 600000 1. in one Year's Debt of the Navy only, will feem a little more extraordinary, if it be confidered that the Supplies for the Year 1711, did far exceed the Supply of any one Year during the War; which will be found true, if compared with any of the Years of the highest Expence; and still more so, if we may be allowed to take a Medium of the eight Years for one Year's Expence. The Supplies. of the eight Years concerned in this Question, amounted to 42754020 1. 6, 34, which at a Medium of the Whole for one Year, is 5340250l. 12, 7: And this compared with 7191350 1. 5, 8. which was granted for 1711, will 100n shew that the Shortness of the Supplies was not the Occasion that the Exceedings of 1711 were greater than former Years, that had undergone such severe Censures from the very same Parliament.

As for any extraordinary Services performed in the Year 1711, beyond all former Years, I know of none but that notable Expedition to Canada, and am not concerned whether the undertaking a Project that had been before concerted, and rejected as impracticable, or the Success that attended it, is to justify so extraordinary an Expence to the Nation. Sure I am that the House of Commons, who thought the Butthen of the Taxes intolerable, and that the deplorable Circumstances of the Nation made almost any Peace desirable, raised and levied more Money upon the Subject in two Years, in which nothing at all was done, than was raised in any two of the most glorious and successful Years of the War; such Sums, as if they had been applyed to a vigorous Prosecution of the War, without fuch melancholy and reproachful Interruptions as we have scen, had procured us indeed a safe, lasting, and honourable

Every Body can't but remember to what a Degree (upon the Change of the Ministry 1710) Stocks fell at once; and that nothing, no not Peace it self, was able to raise them to their former Value, until His Majesty King George's most happy and seasonable Accession to the Throne. What then could be meant by saying that the last Ministry rais'd Credit, I am still at a Los to know, unless it can be said, they raised it by making all Exchequer Bills Specie Bills, which was thus: There was a very great Discount upon Non-Specie Bills, occasioned by the Change of Hands, 1710; whereupon the Parliament granted 45000 l. per Annum, for Circulating Exchequer Bills, and making all Bills Specie Bills; and by that Means indeed they did reduce the great Discount they had brought upon them; and for 45000 l. per Annum, did restore Credit in the single Instance of Exchequer Bills.

I must not forget the raising 5000001. to pay the Debts of the Civil List, which 'tis notorious, and every Ossicer of the Houshold can justify this Truth, that the Arrears were at least double, when the Money was raised (July 1713) to what they were at the Change of the Ministry 1710. 'Tis very well known that there was issued in the first eight Years of Her late Majesty's Reign, out of the Civil List Funds, to the Use of the Wat, above 5000001. which very easily accounts for the Debt in that time. No doubt there were large and very extraordinary. Issues made after; I do not suppose for the Service of the Wat, pethaps for obtaining and justifying the wonderful Treaties of Peace and Commerce with France and Spain.

As the Sum granted was double the Debt of the Civil List, at the Change of the Ministry 1710, had an Account been laid before the Parliament, (which was moved for, but carried in the Negative) it would have appeared not only in Reality what the Queen owed, but was in Hand, or received on the Civil List Funds, towards Discharge of the Debt at the Change 1710, and at the time of raising the 5000001. Twas certainly a most dangerous Precedent, to mortgage the Funds that were settled for Support of the Civil Lists, which by Degrees might have been so far engaged, and granted away, that a Land or Malt Tax must have been made at last an hereditary Revenue for Support of the Honour and Dignity of the Crown.

Without the Concurrence of Parliament, many things that have been transacted, neither could or durft have been done, nor had the Nation been plunged into such inextricable Difficulties, especially as to its Trade and Manufactures, &c. And notwithstanding the Clamours by some Men when out o

Place,

Place, against the Ways of raising Money before 1710, those since have been much harder, and more grievous to the Subject, and detrimental to the Nation; such as settling the general Mortgage, &c. after 1716, to pay Interest to the South Sea Company to Perpetuity, loading Leather, Soap, Candles, &c. with excessive Duties.

As the Treaty of Commerce with France was not rendered effectual by the Parliament, being found detrimental and deftructive to the Manufactures and Trade of the Kingdom, so the Treaty of Commerce with Spain has put the Trade of Great-Britain to that Kingdom, under greater Disadvantages than ever before; for it takes from the Factors, or English Merchants living there, their ancient Privilege of a Judge, Conservator, and Security for Trading; and as all our Merchants that have lived in, and been Traders to Spain, unanimously agree, must ruin, or put an End to any Trade that might have been expected (as Peace) to that Kingdom.

As to Port-Mahon and Gibraltar being left in the Possession of Great-Britain, they will be a constant Charge to the Nation, and the Consequences and Advantages arising from them are only in Case of a War with France, Spain, and other Nations; a precarious Security to our Trade into the Levant and Mediterranean! And it will not be said, the Trade of Great-Britain, particularly of London, is secured (as in Case of a War with France, it was believed it would) by having the Harbour of Dunkirk demolished; since in Destance of the late Treaty, and the Remonstrances of our gracious Sovereign, France continues the making a Port, that will prove infinitely more prejudicial to our Trade, than the old Harbour of Dunkirk.

Mr. Steele says in his Apology, he has mentioned Dunkirk till he is sick; and that there are no Words to represent the infamous Behaviour in a Ministry, to cover so great and pernicious an Imposture upon their Country, as the Improvement of that Port, under the Pretence of the Demolition of it: And as I must think this valuable Person occasioned the first Beginning the Demolition when they did; so he alarmed all sober Men, and Lovers of their Country, in respect to the Protestant Succession, which is evident, not many Months ago was in great Danger, by Her Majesty's isluing a Proclamation, &c. and from what follows in an Act of Parliament, entituded, An Act for the better Support of Her Majesty's Houshold, and of the Honour and Dignity of the Crown of Great-Britain, viz. That Her late Majesty being sully convinced of the imminent Dangers which threatned the Kingdom, and the Pro-

testant Succession in the House of Hanover, as well as from a just Resentment of the Indignities offer'd to Her said Majesty by the Pretender's remaining in Lorain, in Desiance of Her repeated Instances for his Removal, and of the treasonable Practices committed by insisting Her said late Majesty's Subjects in the Service of the Pretender, was pleased, &c.

As to Newfoundland, Great-Britain has the Charge of Maintaining the Forts and Garrisons, and the French Liberty of Fishing, and erecting Stages thereupon for drying their Fish; and besides, have given them the Island of Cape Breton, without any such Liberty reserved for Englishmen. By this Island being given the French, the Inhabitants of New-England are excluded from a Fishery they had Recourse to, and thattered themselves to have amply enjoyed upon a Peace, and the French are enabled to be at Market with their Fish to Spain, Portugal and Italy, six Weeks sooner than we can from Newfoundland.

As the French (not to mention all their Advantages by having the Island of Cape Breton) are situated to annoy, and intercept our Fishery on the Banks of Newfoundland, and Trade to our northern Colonies; so by the Fishery on the Coast of Cape Breton, and the Liberty of Fishing, Drying, &c. at Newfoundland, the Mischiess attending us from the Advantages accruing thereby to France, do still remain; and among other Particulars, a Rivalship of us in our Trade with Fish, to Spain, Portugal, &c. and a Nursery for a Breed of

Seamen.

It has been industriously spread among the People, of mighty Advantages accruing to the Kingdom by Trade into the South Seas, and Places not traded to before: Now we see it was only to amuse and blind, since the South-Sea Company are by Acceptance of the Assiento Contract, precluded from trading thither themselves, and are only permitted to trade on the Foot of the Contract, which though likewise given out as a national Advantage never before reaped, is no more than what the Nation has enjoyed for many Years past, with greater Advantage than can by the Assiento Contract, by a Trade from the Island of Jamaica, which this puts an End to.

The Act for incorporating the South-Sea Company, trading into the South Seas, (by trading whither Employment was to be found for the Poor, and Vent for the Manufactures of the Kingdom) excludes all His Majesty's Subjects from trading thither, but the said Company; and the South-Sea Company, by Acceptance of that Assente Contract, are excluded them-

felves,

felves, whereby the finding Employment for the Poor, and vending our Manufacture, is at an End, and the French left to enjoy the Trade into the South Seas more advantageously

by Great-Britain's having excluded it self.

By none of these Treaties are the French excluded from sending Ships into the Spanish West Indies, on Trade, or any other Pretence whatfoever, as required, and agreed to at Gertruydenberg, where the Duke of Marlborough and Lord Townshend were Plenipotentiaries; and in Consideration that the French preserved King Philip on the Throne of Spain, it can't be thought otherwise, than that they will be the People

most favoured by him in Trade.

When the Treaty of Gertruydenberg was on Foot, the then Ministry had it motioned to, and it was intended by them, that the French should deliver up to the Spaniards, the Share they possessed of Hispaniola; but as nothing was done herein, not only the Island of Jamaica is in Danger, but the whole Sugar Trade of this Kingdom; the Consequence of which must be attended with the Loss of a considerable Trade to these Kingdoms, it may be computed one Way or other near Three Millions per Annum, which must bring Ruine to many Thoufand Families in the Plantations, and many more in thefe Dominions.

As the French by their Settlements in their Islands in America, especially Hispaniola, will endanger the Sugar Trade of this Kingdom; foothereby, and by their Settlement of the Country granted by the French King to the Sieur Crozat, not to mention their Settlements in the South Seas, the French will not only become Masters when they please, of the Navigation from our Island of Jamaica, the Spanish Ports of Car-tagena, Portubello, La vera Crus, Havana, &c. to Europe, &c. but probably in a few Years Masters of that Island, and the Spanish West Indies, and consequently the Trade and Riches of the World.

The Consequences of the French growing Power in America, and the Increase of their Settlements on Historiala, especially the Danger thereof to Jamaica, and the Sugar Trade, was timely forfeen, and taken Notice of; and as the King of France did become a Suitor to Great-Britain for Peace, and acknowledged he owed his Kingdom to the Suspension of the British Arms, 'tis presumed might have been prevented, had it been demanded, and infifted upon at a proper time for the French to have restored to the Spaniards the Share they possessed of

the Island of Hispaniola.

"Tis by our Sugar Islands and Tobacco Colonies, that we chiefly have such a Ballance of Trade on our Side with Holland, Hamburg, &c. and from our Newfoundland Fishery, very great Sums have been annually brought from Spain, Portugal, and Italy, into this Kingdom; for our other Colonies in America, as New-England, New-York, &c. being chiefly dependant on our Sugar Settlements to take off their Product, and having not wherewithal to answer their Exports to them from Great-Britain, are only valuable as they bear Relation to such Colonies as are furnished by them, which must cease on the Decay of Trade from whence it arises.

It has been long fince remarked, that our Breed of Seamen, with the Increase and Encouragement of the Navigation of this Kingdom, does chiefly depend on our Plantation Trade, and Newfoundland Fishery, therefore their present State and Condition being such as is here and elsewhere publickly and amply represented, must give us a sad Prospect, and deserves the immediate Consideration of our best Patriots, for preventing the Decay, Loss or Destruction of the Trade and maritime

Strength of Great-Britain.

What is likely to, and must in my Opinion befal Great-Britain by the famous Transactions of the Ministers of the last four Years of Her Majesty's Reign, in respect to its Manufactures and Plantations; Trade and Navigation, and consequently its Strength and Riches, I am as unwilling to declare, as concerned to reslect upon: 'Tis notorious its Condition might have been much otherwise than at present, and that it might have been so ordered (by what was agreed at Gertruy-denberg) as never to have been in the Power of France to disturb the Repose of the rest of Europe, or to have engross d (as it seems in all Likelihood France will do) the Trade and Riches of the whole World to it self.

I would not criminate particular Persons, but recommend it to you, Electors of Members to serve in Parliament, to review and consider the publick Transactions for some Years past; in so doing, you will observe amongst other things, that as the staff eight Years of Her late Majesty's Reign exceeded in Fame, any of our Princes; so the Measures then taken most visibly tended to nothing but confirming a noble Alliance formed to reduce the exorbitant Power of France, to rescue Spain and the Indiantement the House of Bourbon, and thereby settle a true Ballance of Power in Europe, to preserve and enlarge the Minaschures and Plantations, Trade and Navigation of this Kingdom, and to secure the Protestant Interest, and in particular

cular, the Protestant Succession to the Crown of Great-Britain-These great Ends were the chief Views of those that served the Queen for the first eight Years of Her Reign, and with what Success they served Her, their worst Enemies do confess.

But after these eight Years, when Her Majesty was pleased to change Hands (in the Year 1710) other Measures were concerted, and pursued; such as entering upon a Peace without Participation of the Allies, contrary to Treaties, ending the War by giving Spain and the Indies to the House of Bourbon, dissolving the Grand Alliance, abandoning our Allies and the poor Catalans, giving up every valuable Branch of our Trade, and to persect all, entring into a strict Friendship with France.

Surely your Eyes are opened, and you will refert fuch intolerable Treatment; and now you find what you were told of other People was utterly false, and all the great Advantages you were made to hope from the Change of the Ministry in 1710, and from the late Treaties of Peace and Commerce with France and Spain, end in nothing, or what is worse, the Ruine of your Country, you will no longer follow the Dictates of those Persons who have so grossly deluded and abused you in the Trust reposed in them; but on the contrary, appear so bravely spirited, as to slight, and chuse them no more for your Representatives in Parliament, and make Choice of such worthy Persons, that have been Sticklers for, and Maintainers of the Revolution, and have enabled the Crown with its Allies to preserve and maintain the Liberties of Europe from the boundless Ambition of the French King; that settled and secured the Crown on His present Majesty King George, and have on all Occasions encouraged the Trade, and prevented the Ruine and Destruction of the Navigation and Commerce of Great-Britain:



EXTRACTS

For the better Information of such as Reside in the Country.

From a Piece entituled, A short History of the Parliament. Printed August 1713.

A Sthere was nothing, which Queen, Lords and Commons in all former Parliaments, and the whole Nation had expressed a greater Zeal and Concern for, than securing Spain and the West-Indies to the House of Austria, it had been too gross, at the first opening of this Parliament, to have discovered the Design of giving them entirely into the Hands of France; The Commons therefore are taught to declare, for * avigorous Prosecution of the War in all its Farts, and especially in Spain, for it was not yet Time to take off the Mask and confess that the War was to

be ended, let the Consequence be what it would.

Soon after an Account comes of an Action in Spain, much to the Disadvantage of King Charles, which Her Majesy communicates to the Parliament. The Commons, still zealous for the War in Spain, think it necessary for her Majesty to give Directions 4 for sending and procuring more Troops to repair this Loss, and not discouraged by Missortunes, promise to use their utmost endeavours, to enable her Majesty to carry on the just and necessary War, in which She was engaged; and to support her in such Measures, as on this Occasion should be thought proper to retrieve the Loss in Spain. So the War at that Time it seems was

^{*} Commons Address, Nov. 30. 1710. † Commons Address, Jan. 3. 1710.

just and necessary, and Spain at any rate was then thought worth the saving: And yet, methinks, if we had been very much in Earnest, even at that Time, we should have heard of Forces sent from hence, or Foreigners hir'd to repair this Loss; but as the Parliament had never any Curiosity to enquire how far this Address had been comply'd with, I am afraid King Charles, from that hour, never found any Effect of this great Zeal for his Service.

However, publick Declarations in his Fayour are still thought necessary. Upon the Death of the Emperor, to prevent the ill Consequence thereof, * the Interests of the House of Austria are to be supported, and the utmost endeavours are to be us'd, to promote the Election of the King of Spain to the Empire. endeavours are us'd, and prove successful; but who would have thought at that Time, that the Empire was to be purchas'd by King Charles, at so dear a rate as the loss of the Crown of Spain; but so it has happen'd, and the only Argument that has been us'd, for giving Spain to King Philip, has been to preferve the Ballance of Power in Europe, which would otherwise be in Danger from the Conjunction of the Empire and Spain; but I dare answer for the Parliament, whatever others might defign, they did not in the least foresee this unhappy Consequence: Thus we see thro' the whole Course of this first Session, this Parliament was zealoufly devoted to the Interest of King Charles as King of Spain.

Before the next Session, a Project of Peace had been set on Foot, and the World began to suspect, that Spain was now to be given up to the House of Bourbon. I must do the Parliament that Justice to confess, that this, at first, gave offence to a great many; they knew not very well, how to relish such a direct contradiction to all they had been saying and doing for so many Years past; and with these Sentiments, 'tis very weil knewn, that most Gentlemen came out of the Country, to attend the Second Session of Parliament; but a sew Prorogations. Some Town Conversation, and a little secret Conviction, brought this matter to a Composition; and in case nothing was said expressly of Spain, a General Address, + full of entire confidence, and satisfaction in the Just and Honourable Peace in view, which

no body then knew one Word of, was agreed to.

This matter then was to be managed a little more tenderly, and the Commons were to be taught a new Lesson. In order to this, a Pamphlet called the Condust of the Allies, &c.

^{*} Commons Address, April 20. 1711. † Commons Address, Decemb. 8. 1711.

was publish'd, and a great Deal of Industry used, to Imake this the Political Creed of the Party, which all the Orthodox Friends of France embrac'd very readily; and in this was to be found the whole Scheme of the Proceeding of that Seffich. This Masterpiece, fill'd with Falfities and Mifrepresentations, was no sooner dispers'd and canvass'd in the World, but it produc'd the desir'd Effect, affording Arguments, for artful and ill defigning Instruments, to prevent and prejudice the Minds of weak and deluded People, and firing others, who had no leifure or opportunity to be better inform'd, with Resentment and Indignation against 11 the Allies, who, they had been made to believe, had dealt fo unfaithfully with us; and accordingly Addresses are made in Parliament, * for Accounts of the Quota's and Proportions of Her Majesty and Her Allies during the War, and how the same have been observed; for all Treatics for raising and augmenting Proportions, + and whitever else was thought necessary for carrying on the grand Design. These Addresses produce States of the War, prepar'd by those, who had procur'd 'em to be call'd for, and who would not, in all probability, deliver any but fuch as ferv'd their own purpose. Upon the Day appointed to consider of the State of the War, Eleven Questions are brought into the House ready pen'd, and all number'd, and put into the Hands of proper Persons, who mov'd them in a very decent order; and without any more Ceremony, the Parliament, in an Hour's Time, judg'd and centur'd the late Emperit, the present Emperor, the King of fortugal, and the States General; with all whom it had been so lately declar'd, that a strict Friendship and good Correspondence was above all Things to be cultivated, to render the Peace secure and lasting.

This was a handfom Step for one Day, and a good preparative for what was to follow; but as the giving up Spain was the great flumbling Block that was to be removed, formething more was necessary to be done: Another is appointed for confidering the State of the War, and there several Resolutions are made, ashered in the same Manner, stating the Expence of the War in Spain, which is there represented to be most extravagants and to have cost an immense Sum, and such as the Nation could not any longer possibly endure; by this means the Way is paved for giving up Spain, and what had been long before agreed to, but concealed, was now brought to Maturity, and be-

gan publickly to be avow'd and supported.

* Decemb. 20. 1711.

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[†] Fan. 31.

In a fhort Time afterwards the Terms of a * general Peace are communicated, wherein the giving up Spain and the Indies, appears to be almost the only Thing that was fully agreed to and concluded; but the Loyal Commons, full of Indignation against the Allies, and aggrieved with the great Burden of the Spanish War, with † Hearts full of Gratitude for what had already been obtain'd, which seem'd to be nothing but a French Renunciation, want Words to express the Satisfaction, with which they received the good news of a proposal for giving Spain to

King Philip, which was to execute it felf.

I have neither Room, nor Time here, to enter into a Justification of the Allies, and to shew the Falsities and Misreprefentations of the State of the War in all its Parts. The States General, sensible of the Injustice that was done them, represented their Case in a Memorial to the Queen, which fully prov'd they were wrongfully charg'd, by the Votes and Refolutions of the House of Commons. This indeed was not to be endur'd, that any Body should dare to undeceive the World; The Memorial therefore is first call'd a * pretended Memorial and then Voted a falle, scandalous and malicious Libel, and Mr. Buckley Author of the Daily Courant, who printed it, taken into Cuffody of the Serjeant at Arms. Such confummate Justice all have met with who dar'd to speak unteasonable Truths, either within Doors, or without. The States General, I presume, escap'd an express censure, because Her Majesty had this Session declar'd * their Interest inseparable from Her own, and the Parliament had concurr'd with her in it.

From a Piece entitled, A Letter to a Member of the October Club, &c. Printed 1711.

SIR,

INE or ten Years ago I cou'd not but observe, as a Thing very remarkable, the general Disposition of England to enter into the War; I am now more surprized at the universal Impatience of all your Party for a Peace.

^{*} June 6. 1711.

⁺ Commons Address, June 6. 1711.

* April 8. 1712.

^{*} Decemb. 7. 1711.

When Ilook back to the Beginning of this War, and take a Victor of the State of Europe at that Time; France against us and by her own native Strength almost a Match for all her Neighbours; the Milaneze, Natles, and the Spanish Netherlands in her Posselfion; the whole Spanish Monarchy at her Disposal; the Dukes of Savey and Mantua affilting with the whole Forces of their Countrys to keep all Italy in her Subjection; the Electors of Bavaria and Cologne, with the Dukes of Wolffenburtle and the Hungarian Malecontents her Allies, embroiling the Empire, and threatning the Imperial Dignity: To oppose this formidable Enemy the whole Force being that of the Emperor, with a Rebellion on each fide of his exhausted Countrys; that of the United Provinces just ready to be overwhelm'd by Inundations of Armys from France and the Spanish Netherlands; and that of England divided by her Partys, and weary'd out by the former Was: I fay, when I consider this Conjuncture, I cannot but wonder that our Courage did not faint at the very Prospect; and furely nothing cou'd justify our undertaking this new War, but absolute Necessity, and the Apprehension of inevitable Ruin by Peace.

Again, when I remember the little Hopes we had at that Time, I am aftonish'd at our Successes, and present Acquisitions. The Duke of Mantua quite ruin'd; the Duke of Savoy brought over to our Side; the French intirely driven out of Italy; great Supplies drawn from hence against the common Enemy. The Duke of Wolffenbuttle disarm'd; the Electors of Bavaria and Cologne depriv'd of their Dominions; the Rebellion of Hungary almost extinguish'd; and all Germany now at leisure to pursue the common Interest. Besides this, a l'art even of Spain it self has revolted, a new War has been kindled in that Country; which, tho more easily supply'd on the Part of France than of the Allies, has been hitherto carry'd on with pretty equal Advantage on both Sides. But what is yet more than all the Rest of our Successes, the French King is beaten out of the Spanish Netherlands; his old Frontier, fortify'd with so much Cost, and so long held impregnable, in so few Years wrested from him; the Way in a manner laid quite open into his own Kingdom, and himself at last reduc'd to the unhappy Choice of either losing France, or yielding up the Kingdom of Spain.

So many Armys beaten! Such fuccessful Sieges! Such vast Countrys recover'd! What wou'd any Man have ask'd more of Almighty God in so short a Time? Or how cou'd the most fanguine Person have expected half so much? It is plain that Providence must have sought on our Side; and yet something

s to be attributed to the Wisdom of that Administration, which

was bleffed with such unparallel'd Prosperity.

The French King himself seems almost stupify'd with his Losses, He has been brought twice to sue for Peace; but at the same Time he sues for spain and all her Indian Treasures, and wou'd till keep back the very Thing we have been so long fighting to ecover. The Torys are melted with his Tears; they are for complying with his Petition; and wou'd fain persuade us, we may safely give him Spain for a Peace.

This is fill more aftenishing than all the Rest, since by this Soncession the French King without sighting wou'd in a few Years be enabled to recover all that has been taken from him,

nd indeed to bring all Europe under his Dominion.

I persuade myself, a Person of your excellent understanding cannot want Arguments to set you right in this Matter; and I know your Authority will be very great with all those of your Party, whenever you shall think it necessary to lead hem out of their present Error. The Design therefore of this actter, is to offer as convincing Arguments as I am able, to hew that such a Peace as they so earnessly desire, wou'd be more uninous to themselves and their Country, than the present War; hat at least if they will leap into the Gulf, they may do it with

heir Eyes open.

The Method I shall take to do this, shall be, by endeavouing to shew the following Particulars; viz. That giving Spain o the Dake of Anjon, will be giving it to the French King; Chat the latter will be enabled by this Gift to increase his own ecurity, Riches, and Power; and to diffress, impoverish, and weaken all his Neighbours; That Portugal, Brazile Peru and Mexico will foon be oblig'd to submit to the French Dominion: That we shall be utterly depriv'd of all the most valuable Branthes of our Trade: That we shall have no Income or Supplies of Money by any Trade, or from any Country whatfoever: That we shall lose the annual income of Three Millions and a ralf, which is gain'd to the Kingdom by Trade even during the present War, and the Assurance of gaining a much greater Revenue by wresting Spain from the House of Bourbon: That as we hall gain nothing if the Duke of Anjou shou'd be settled upon he Spanish Throne, so we shall export or lose at least halt a Million yearly till our whole Stock is waited: That consequently Peace on the Terms fo much defir'd, wou'd be worte than the present War by the yearly Sum of sour Millions. That by such Peace we shall lose Employment and Subsistence for one Milion of Souls, or a fixth or feventh Part of our whole People:

And lastly, That we shall lose three Fourths of the annual and total Value of all our Lands. I firmly believe our Losses wou'd be greater in every Article than what I have mention'd; but these will be sufficient: and if I shall be able to prove they will be as great as I have asserted, I persuade myself there is not an honest Man in Great Britam, who wou'd be pleas'd to accept a Peace upon such Terms, as the French King has hitherto thought sit to offer it. And yet the Administration has been traduc'd and vility'd for not accepting such a Peace.

If I have also prov'd, that the Accession of this Kingdom (Spain) will make a great Addition to his (the French King's) Riches; and if it is certain, that Mony is the very Sinews of War, as that which hastens the Levys, clothes the Soldier, fortifies the Frentier, furnishes the Magazine, and prepares the Train of Artillery; then, without doubt, the Increase of his Power is a necessary Consequence of increasing the Riches of his Kingdom.

As the giving up Spain to the Duke of Anjou makes so great an Addition to the Riches and Power of the French King, it must consequently enable him to distress, impoversh and weaken all

his Neighbours.

But to confider this Matter more particularly: By the convenient Situation of the Harbours of Cadiz and Gibraliar, he will be always able to secure a Naval Force sufficient to distress, if not to command, the Entrance into the Mediterranean. There is no Reason why he shou'd not chuse rather to lodge his whole Fleet at Cadiz than at Toulon. And what then shall hinder his Establishing a Toll in the Straits, as the King of Denmark has done within the Sound? and a much more grievous Toll, as he will have more Power to maintain it? If this can be done, his own Subjects only will be suffer'd to pass free: all other Nations must either submit to the Imposition, or dispute it by their Conyoys; the Merchant must trade as it were in Armour; either the Toll, or the Convoy shall eat out the Profit of the Voyage. It is easy to be seen, that by such a Conduct so much of the Mediterranean Trade will be loft as depends upon that Passage; the two great Maritime Fowers will be absolutely excluded, and the raw Silks of the Levant suffer'd to come no farther from Homethan into the French Dominions.

If the French King can do this, If he can prohibit the Exportation of Spanish Wool from his own Countrys, if he can also prevent the Importation of Manufactures from the Countrys subject to the two Maritime Powers; what prodigious Num-

bers

ners of their Subjects must either mutiny for want of Employnent, or starve for want of Bread? And will not these Potentates be distress'd by so great a Charge of Subjects upon their

hands, or by the Seditions of their People?

Again, it is certain both England and Holland must part with great Quantitys of Bullion, or Mony, every Year for Naval Stores, and other Necessarys: and if this Loss is not to be supply'd from spain, or other Countrys, (as will be shewn hereafter, it Spain shall be given up) then our Poverty is inevitable.

But, to make the quicker Dispatch of our Riches, France her seif will take a great Deal offour Hands; that Prince will allow his Subjects to sell us Wines, Fashions, and Luxury, and we shall be sure to have them a great Pennyworth. Tho' is wou'd seem strange that our Gentlemen, so tamous sor October shou'd all on a sudden become so enamour'd of French Wines, as to desert their English Manusacture; that they shoud be so eager to enrich the Vinedresses of our Enemies, and to impoverish their own Tenants: for it cannot be imagin'd that Gentlemen wou'd do this for a safer Way of holding Correspondence with France, and paying an annual Tribute to St. Germains. But 'tis needless to pursue this Argument any farther, since nothing can be more evident, than that the French King, by adding Spain to his other Dominions, must impoverish his

Neighbours.

What a bright Figure then shall we make in Europe? What noble Efforts against the Great, the Rich, the Powerful King of France? What wonderful Armys shall we not be able to raile from among our own People, when they shall be destitute of all other Employment, and flarving for want of Bread? It is no matter for Clothes or Pay, Arms or Ammunition; these Things we shall find among our Enemies: We shall I warrant, with the greatest Courage and Intrepidity, rush on naked against an armed Prince for the Under of his Countrys. No certainly, we shall understand our selves a great Deal better; if we are not able to keep this Prince down when we have him under, if we shall suffer him to raise himself again upon our Ruins, we must hereafter contract our Schemes, and become humble Supplicants to his most Christian Majesty to have some Compassion of our Miserys. Doubtless, in his good Nature, he will condescend so far to our Prayers, as to grant us a Viceroy and a new Religion. And this perhaps is the Reason why some Persons are so much in haste for a Peace, and for giving Spain to the Duke of Anjou; they know very well we shall be re-D 2

duc'd to all this Poverty and Weakness, and they wou'd fainhave the Viceroy and the Religion upon any Terms whatfoever.

For my own part then, I shall no longer Wonder that the Examiner, and such other Writers, are so full of their Invectives ag inst Trade and a Trading Interest, as if the Interest of the Nation were no way concern'd in the Preservation of Trade. As for these Men, I consider them as so many second hand Hirelings to carry on the Interest of France. But its wonderful to read such Things in the Writings of some of our Reverend Divines, to find them also inveighing against Trade, as if it were the Cause of all the Schisins and Heresys in the World; and recommending the old Patriarchal Ways of Cow keeping and Agriculture as more innocent Imployments for the People.

Wou'd they have us increase in these Things, when we have already so much more of them than are sufficient for our People? When we abound so much in Cattle, that we will not suffer any more to be imported upon us by our Fellow Subjects? and in Corn, that we give Bountys to our Neighbours to take it off

our Hands?

But are Bread and Meat the only Necessarys of Life? Are not Clothes and Manufactures as necessary to our Well-being? Or shall they who have the whole Property of the Lands make Clothes for themselves? And shall not the Rest of the People be able to buy Bread and Meat in Exchange for their Manufactures?

Or what do these Reverend Persons mean? Wou'd they have us naked, that they may clothe us? hungry, that they may feed us? Tho their Charity is very great, it can never be equal to

the Wants of fuch Multitudes,

It is fill less to be imagin'd, that they wou'd first make us poor, that they may afterwards make us Orthodox. They know very well that extreme Poverty is as great a Temptation to Sin as too much Riches; and that starving our Bodys is not the Way

to fave our Souls.

And 'tis yet less to be suspected that holy Men, without any secular Ends, who are separated from the World, and dedicated to God's Altar, shou'd ever intend the Impovershment of the People, the better to assure themselves of their Subjection; that they shou'd have any Design so wicked as the establishing their own Dominion upon the Ruin of their Country.

But

But who oever the Ferfon is, whether of the Clergy or the Laity, of what foever Quality or Degree, and for what foever Reasons or Pretences, that frou'd go about to deprive the Nation of so great a part of their daily Bread, such a Man wou'd surely be impeached of the highest Crime and Missemeanor by the general Voice of the Kingdom. There cannot be the least fear that the common People, against whom so much Mischief is intended, wou'd be guilty of any Riot or Insurrection, to prevent the doing Justice upon such an Offender.

And 'tis yet less to be conceiv'd that Gentlemen, Ladics, and Persons of superior Quality, shou'd take Part with such a Criminal, and conspire to do him Honour; since their Sufferings will be yet greater than those of the common People by so great a Loss of Trade. Gentlemen are therefore more nearly concern'd to prevent the yielding up of Spain to the Duke of Anjou, whence this and all the other Consequences I have mention'd

are unavoidable.

For, in the first Place, do they imagine, that by the Loss of so many Markets for our Corn, Manufactures, and other Things, their Rents will not be affected? Or is it possible they shou'd not be affected? These Things that are annually parted and sold from the Farm, are not mere Labour, but Labour mixt with the Produce of the Lands; and therefore if the Produce of the Lands shall continue still the same, and the Purchasers shall be sewer, the Rent or Value of the Estate must needs be abated.

This must make a sensible Diminution of the Ren's, but by that which follows they must tumble down apace. 'Tis certain we shall be oblig'd, as is prov'd before, to issue annually great Sums of Mony out of England; and if by giving up Spain we shall be disabled to import any fresh Supplies, it must follow, that in the Space of not very many Years, the whole Kingdom will be exhausted, and there will not be sufficient Mony lest to answer the Rents of any one Gentleman's Estate. This must needs lessen the Value of the Estate, unless it shall be affirm'd that the Produce of the Lands will remain as valuable after the Loss of all our Money, and as little burden'd to the Gentleman.

But how shou'd the Produce of the Land be as valuable without Mony? Will the Barter or Exchange of Goods be as easy and commodious? Will it furnish the Gentleman with as many Conveniences of Life? The very Supposition is ridiculous, and to put it only is to expose it.

Again, after what has been faid, how is it possible the Estate shou'd be as little burden'd? Only so much of the Profits of the

Estate

Estate are coming to the Gentleman, as are not paid away to Publick or Parish Taxes. But if all publick Taxes shou'd case, how much must those to the Parish be encreas'd, by such a Burden of new Poor as I have describ'd? They will have no whither to fly, but to the Lands for a Maintenance; A Million of new Poor will be hardly subsisted for less than five Pounds' per Head; or the whole Number for less than five Millions fer Annum; and how much less is this than ten Shillings in the Pound, or half the full Value of all the Rents in England? And 'tis probable, that more than half of what remains will be lost, with so many Markets for our Goods, and by the went of Mony to facilitate our Exchanges. And if three Fourths of the Annual Value of the Estate shall be lost, the Estate must needs fall Three Fourths of the Value in the Purchase,

Gentlemen will hardly believe that so great a Fall is possible. But if they will prease to consult an Excellent Book, call'd. The Account of Denmark, they will find there, that Estates fell three Fourths of their Value in the Purchase, and that sew Purchases were to be found even upon those Terms; and all this only by the Change of their Government, from a limited to an absolute Monarchy; or in other Words, from a Prince that was bound to govern according to Laws, to one that was not to be resisted upon any Pretence whatsoever. And if we will but put Spain under the Power of France, we too in the Space of a few Years shall be reduc'd to such Poverty and Weakness, as to change our slimited for an absolute Monarchy, not the absolute Monarchy of a Prince of our own Growth, but of a French

Man, a Papist, and a Tyrant.

I have not, Sir, been offering these Arguments to a Man of your Judgment and Penetration, as if I thought you needed to be convinc'd of the Necessity of our going on still with the War; but rather in hopes to incline you to make use of the Authority you so justly have among the Clergy, the Gentry, and the common People of your Patty, to persuade them that Spain must be recover'd, Trade must be preserved, or else every one will be undone. Your Reason will suggest a Multitude of Arguments to strengthen your Authority, and yet I slatter, my self that this Letter will surnish some Hints which are not improper for this Purpose.

To begin with the Clergy: I wou'd be understood only of those of your Party. If Lands shall fall Three Fourths in their Rents or yearly Value, will not the Glebe or Tithe of the Par-

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fon be reduc'd to the same Condition? And where is that Cless gyman who wou'd give such a Part of his Living for a Peace?

Universal Poverty may possibly be the Way to one Opinion in Religion: But where is that self-denying Minister of the Go-spel, who wou'd give Three Fourths of his Tithes to have all his People Orthodox, to have no Heresy or Schism in his Parish?

They may perhaps imagine the same Poverty will make Way for a more absolute Dominion of the Friesthood. But which of all those Priests wou'd give the greatest Part of his Subsistence for more Power? Which of them wou'd defire to

be the starving Ruler of a starving People?

If Spain shall be left in the Possession of the French King by a Peace, mere Poverty will soon bring England and all Europe under the French Dominion. And then will any Priest of the Church of England be able to live or rule in his own Parish, without changing his Religion? And is the Change to Popery

so very easy?

We have feen Addresses for breaking a Parliament, that impeach'd one of that Order for preaching Principles inconsistent with our present Establishment; but wou'd not all the Clergy address for the Punishment of such a Man as shou'd dare to inflame the People by his Sermons, to the Desire of a Peace that must impose Popery and Poverty upon the Kingdom, upon the Parson as well as the whole Parish?

Perhaps they may fondly flatter themselves that the French-King will take nothing from them, and that he will even reward them for their Service. But is any Thing more natural than for Princes, when vested with all the Power they desire,

to forget the Instruments that brought them to it?

But if those of the Clergy might still be suffer'd to enjoy their Religion and Livings, and if even their Revenues and Power might be increes'd for their good Service; wou'd they be pleas'd to see Ruin and Desolation every where round about them? Wou'd they inflame their Followers to the Desire of a Peace, which must prove more destructive to them than the most cruel War? Wou'd they make use of their Authority and Interest in their several Parishes to ruin a Gentry, and a common People, who are so fondly, I had almost said blindly, devoted to them?

But certainly the Gentry cannot always be so very blind; they must needs open their Eyes at so near an Approach of their own Danger. For can it be believ'd, that together with pain they wou'd give away all their best Markets? or that the ro-

duce

duce of the Lands wou'd be still as valuable after the Loss of

those Markets?

Wou'd Gentlemen be pleas'd to fee great Sums of Mony exported every Year, and no new Supplies return'd? To fee a Million of poor People thrown upon their Estates, and scarce any Part of the Profits lest for their own Subsistence? To see Three Parts in Four of the annual and total Value of every Estate in the Kingdom lost for ever by these Articles?

Wou'd the Gentleman who is out of Debt be able to live as well upon one fourth Part of the Estate as the whole? And he that is indebted in one fourth Part of the whole Value, be able to live as well, when the whole shall be taken from him for

the Satisfaction of his Creditors?

And how wou'd all these Gentlemen, their Ladys, their Sons and Daughters, relish the parting with their present Luxury and Pleasure, for a wretched Subsistence by Parish-Alms or hard Labour?

And yet all these Things are unvoidable Consequences of yield-

ing Spain to the Duke of Anjou.

I believe Gentlemen are weary of paying Four Shillings in the Pound to the War; but which of them wou'd not chuse to double his Taxes, rather than give his whole Estate for a Peace?

Some perhaps are not pleas'd with the Revolution, and less with the Protestant Succession, and the perpetual Breach which. That has made upon the Hereditary Right of the Crown. Such perhaps may think that to wrest spain from the House of Bourbon, is to disable France from imposing the Pretender upon these Kingdoms. But if the Loss of Spain will have such ill Consequences, what Gentleman wou'd give his Estate to have the Pretender for his King? or reduce himself to Beggary, to disappoint the House of Hanover?

If any one is so fond as to imagine he shall be well rewarded by France, and that at the least he shall make a saving Bargain for himself; yet wou'd he be so cruel to his Country? Wou'd he have no regard to those poor People that blindly sollow his

Authority?

But lastly, for the Common People of England, they have heretofore judg'd very well of their own Interest; how comesthey now to pin their own Faith upon the Sir John, the Sir Thomas, or the Parlen of the Parish? How is it, that they are all on a sudden become the bland Followers of any Authority. Whatsoever?

Wou'd

Wou'd the Farmers or Freeholders be pleas'd with that Gentleman, who shou'd endeavour that their Malt or Wool might be left upon their Hands? Yet this perhaps wou'd be the Confequence of importing French Wines, and lessening the Confumption of our Corn and Manufactures in Portugal; but this must needs be the Consequence of yielding spain to the Duke of Anjou, and putting our whole Trade under the Power of France.

Greater Numbers of our Wiltshire People are maintain'd by making Spanish Cloth, than cou'd possibly be subsisted in the meanest Manner imaginable by the whole Rents of that Coun But if Spain shill be given up, all the Spanish Wool wilbe engrols'd by France, 'and our Manufacturer must live upon the Landholder. And can it then be thought that either of them wou'd vote for such a Parliament as shou'd be careless for the Recovery of Spain, or give that Kingdom for a Peace?

London, Canterbury, Norwich, and other populous Citys, Support very great Numbers of their People by the Manufacture of Silks. I think I have prov'd that the Lofs of Spain will be follow'd by that of our raw Silks: and then what Numbers must be starv'd? Has not London alone seen an Insurrection of twenty thousand Weavers upon any sudden and temporary Scarcity of that Commodity? And what then are we to expect, when they shall all be depriv'd of it for ever?

Perhaps it may be thought we are out of Danger of any future Insurrection of the common People for their Bread, or for any other Cause, unless for the Desence of Passive Obedience and Non-Resistance. But the they wou'd not rise for want of Bread, yet wou'd they chuse such Men for their Representatives in Parliament, as together with Spain wou'd abandon the

Subfistence of so many People?

I think I have prov'd that our finest Manusactures employ the greatest Numbers, and that our very Poverty upon the Lois of Spain wou'd oblige us all to content our selves with the coarfest Sorts. And what then will become of numberless Hands that are every where employ'd in the finest Manufactures for the Confumption of our own Country? How shall half a Million be subsisted, that will be reduc'd by all these Articles?

When they shall have lost so many Markets at Home, will they still work on for those abroad? But how is this possible, when it is also proved that the Loss of Spain will be attended with the Loss of so many of our foreign Markets, and of Sublistence for half a

Million of our People?

And

And can a fixth or seventh Part of the whole Nation be reduced to the unhappy Necessity of living upon the Rest, and will not the whole Kingdom be impoverished? Will not the Misery be universal? And are not all these apparent Consequences of yielding spain to the Duke of Anjou?

What then must all Mankind think of the Examiner and his Friends, who wou'd have us buy our Peace upon these Terms? What else can our Clergy, our Gentry, our common People think of such a Wretch, than that he is in the Interest

of the Enemy?

But if such are the Consequences of the Peace which is recommended to us, who will not be for going on with the War? If the Loss of Spain will cause such universal Ruin, what Man is there, from the Lord to the Peasant, that wou'd not excise a fourth or fifth Part of his Subsistence to recover it? Who wou'd not pay a fourth or fifth Part of the Price of all he eats, or drinks, or wears, towards carrying on the War, rather than a bad Peace shou'd leave him neither Bread, nor Meat, nor Clothes, but at the Mercy of France?

But I forget what I am doing: An earnest Concern for the universal Satety and Welfare of my whole Country, has drawn me to exceed the Bounds of a Letter. It is time now to con-

clude, and to affure you that I am, &c.

The PROTEST of the Lords, &c.

Die Sabbati 7. Jun. 1712.

He House was moved, that these Words might be added at the Close of the Motion for an Address upon Her Majeny's Speech, (viz).

And in Order to that, to pray Her Maiesty to take such Measures in concert with her Allies, as may induce them to juyn

with Her Majesty in a Mutual Guaranty.

After Debate,

The Question was put, Whether those Words should be added?

It was resolved in the Negative.

Diffentient"

We think it necessary to have the Security proposed of a General Guaranty, and the rather, because We conceive the Terms of Peace that are offered, have proceeded from a separate Negociation, carried on by the Ministers with France, without any Communication thereof to the Principal Allies, particularly the States General, as they fay in their Letter to Her Majesty, (whose Interest Her Majesty was pleased to declare to this Parliament, She look'd upon as inseparable from own) and we conceive this Negociation to be contrary to those Orders which Her Majesty declared to this House, in Answer to their Address, that she had given to Her Plenipotentiaries at Utrecht, to concert with those of Her Allies; And the Resolution expressed in her Messuage Fanuary 17. of a strict Union, in which She proposed to joyn with them in Order to obtain a good Peace, and to Guaranty and Support the same, as She had before declared in Her Speech at the Opening of this Session, that She would unite with them in the strictest Engagements for continuing the Alliance, in order to render the general Peace Secure and Lasting; and contrary to the Eighth Article of the grand Alliance, which expresly obliges all the Allies not to Treat, unless joyntly and with the Common Advice of the other Parties.

And we conceive that the refusal of these Words proposed to be added, may be look'd upon by the Allies, as if this House approved this Method of Transacting with France, which may seem to them to tend to a separate Peace, of which Her Majesty has declared her Dislike, and which was acknowledged in this House to be foolish, and knavish, and would be of pernicious Consequence to this Kingdom, by preventing that Guaranty of Peace by the Allies, which is so absolutely necessary for their mutual Security, and leave us exposed to the Power of France, there being little Reason to expect their su-

ture Help after such a gross Breach of Trust.

And we further conceive, that such a separate proceeding may create in the Allies so great a Distrust, as may tempt them to take the like Measures, and so give the French Opportunity to break that Union, which has hitherto been so useful to Us, and formidable to Them; any Appearance whereof must encourage France, either to delay the Conclusion of a Peace, or to Impose upon the Allies in the further Progress of the Treatty.

A perfect Union among the Allies feems to Us to be more necessary in the present Case; Because the Foundation upon which all the Offers of Mance relating to Great-Britain as well

as to the Allies are built; (viz.) A Renunciation of the Duke of Anjou to that Kingdom, is, in our Opinion, so faliacious, that no reasonable Man, much less who'e Nations, can ever look upon it as any Security. Experience may sufficiently convince Us how little we ought to rely upon the Renunciation of the House of Bourbon; and tho' the present Dake of Anjou should happen to think himself bound by his own Act, which his Grandfather did not, yet will his Descendants be at liberty to say, that no Act of his could deprive them of their Birthright, and especially when it is such a Right, as in the Opinion of all French-Men, ought inviolably to be maintain'd by the fundamental Constitution of the Kingdom of France.

And we humbly think it unsafe to depend upon this principal Part of the Treaty's Executing it self, by supposing it will be the Interest of France to support it; since on the contrary, it is manifest by the French Endeavours ever since the Pyrenean Treaty, to Unite the Monarchies of France and Spain. They look upon that Union to be their greatest Interest, and the most effectual means of Establishing the Universal Monarchy in the House

of Bourbon,

And if it were Reasonable to imagine, that the Two Crowns of France and Spain should remain in distinct Branches of the House of Bourbon; Yet this is contrary to the Grand Alliance it self, which recites the Usurpation of the Spanish Monarchy by the French King for the Duke of Anjou, as the principal

Cause of this War.

As to Port Mahon, Gibraltar, the Affiento, and the other Advantages to Britain proposed by France (besides that they are all Precarious, and in the Power of France and Spain to take from us when they please) considering the Situation of those Kingdoms, and the Vast Wealth and Strength which will be left to them, we conceive it impossible for any Man to look on these as a Compensation to Britain in any Degree; for the leaving Spain and the Indies in the Possession of the House of Boarbon, besides other manifessly fatal Consequences, must be extreamly Prejudicial to our Woollen Manusasture, if it does not entirely ruin it.

As to the Demolition of Dunkirk, tho' we own it will be a great Safety to our Home Trade, yet we have Reason to apprehend by what was said in the Debate, that it is not yet agreed to be Demolish'd, without an Equivalent for it to the French

King's Satisfaction.

And in all the Particulars relating to the Allies, tho they are not perfectly adjusted, yet by what does appear concerning them. them, the Allies are likely to be left in such a State of Insecu-

rity, as is absolutely inconsistent with our own Safety.

The Rhine is proposed for a Barrier of the Empire, which leaves Strasburg and Hunningheninthe Hands of the French; the former of which has always been look'd upon as the Key of the Empire.

The Proposals of France relating to the Barrier for the States General, not only deprives them of all the Places taken since the Year 1709, but also of two or three Places more included in the Demand made by the States in that Year, which will render their Barrier wholly insufficient, and consequently very much Weaken the Security of Britain.

Portugal feems to be wholly abandoned to the Power of Spain, notwithstanding the great Advantages we have receiv'd during this War by our Trade with that Kingdom, which

might still be extreamly beneficial to us.

Upon the whole, there is so very little and inconsiderable a difference between these Offers of France, and those made at Utrecht Febr. 11. N.S. and sign'd Huxelles (as appears to us upon comparing them together) that both seem to be the Effect of a secret and particular Negociation with France, and this House having unanimously concurred in Expressing to her Majesty their utmost Resentment at those Terms offer do her Majesty and Her Allies by the Plenipotentiaries of France, and Her Majesty having graciously accepted that our Address, and rewarded that Duty and Zeal with Her hearty Thanks, we cannot in Respect to Her Majesty, or Justice to our Country, retract that Opinion, nor think the Terms now good for Us or the Allies, or give any seeming Approbation of them, which then were received by this House, and all the Allies, with Scorn and Detestation.

For these Reasons, we are of Opinion that the Offers of France are Fallacious and Instraing, no Way proportioned to the Advantages which Her Majesty (from the great Successes which it has pleased God to bless her and her Allies during the whole Course of this War) might justly expect for her own Kingdoms and for them, very unsufficient for preserving a Ballance of Power in Europe for the suture Security of her Majesty and her Allies, tho' they should be never so exactly perform'd, and yet, even such as they are, there is no effectual Security Offer'd for the Performance of them, which makes it absolutely necessary, as we conceive, that such Measures should be taken, in concert with the Allies, as may induce them to join with Her Majesty in a Mutual Guaranty.

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POSTSCRIPT.

In the foregoing I have observed, That had it not been for the Extra Services, (such as building Men of War lost in the great Storm, Bounty-Money to Widows, Orphans, &c.) the Exceedings of the Debts of the Navy, &c. would have amounted but to 5474 l. 13, 11, 4-1. And that including such Extra Services (for which no Provision was made by Parliament) the Exceedings were not 300000 per Annum, the first eight Years of her Majesty's Reign, and yet for the Year 1711 the Exceeding on the Head of the Navy only above 600000 l.

As I could not but think this necessary to repeat; because the Parliament of which Mr. Bromley was Speaker, in the first Session, 1710-11. did declare, That the Exceeding the Parliamentary Provision was a new and illegal Practice, and a dangerous Invasion of the Rights of Parliament; so it is likewise necessary to take Notice, that of the 35 Millions voted to be unaccounted for, Accounts had been then duly ren-

der'd for all but four Millions.

But here may be seen a true Specimen of the Candour and Iustice of this House of Commons: The two Uses that were to be made of this Vote were, to raise a Clamour in the Country, and to come at a Censure of the late Earl of Gozlolphin, whom they voted guilty of a most notorious Breach of Trust, and high Injustice to the Nation, for not compelling the respective Accomptants to pass their Accounts. If he was guilty, it must be by sending Orders or Warrants to the Deputy Remembrancer to stay Process. This the House of Commons was sensible of, and therefore in order to have the whole Matter before them, on Thursday the 26th of April, 1711. they order'd the Deputy Remembrancer to lay before the House what Orders he had receiv'd for paying or isluing Process against Accomptants. On Tuesday following, the Deputy Remembrancer presents the said Orders and Warrants; but our worthy Patriots, impatient of Delay, on Seturday the 28th of April resum'd the Consideration of this Affair, and proceeded to judge and censure, before the only Evidence which could fet this Matter in a clear Light was before them; which they themselves had called for, and which

which prov'd a full Justification of the Persons, whom they

thought it necessary first to hang and then to try.

The Money given by Parliament the first eight Years of her late Majesty's Reign, amounted to 42754020 1. 6, 4-3, and the last four (three of them at least pacific) Years to 19564182 1. 10, 5, 4-1. (besides which his Majesty tells us, That he was surpris'd to observe the Debts of the Nation very much encreas'd since the Conclusion of the late War.) How these Sums were apply'd, and by which Set of her Majesty's Ministers most to the Honour and Interest of Great-Britain, &c. take in the following Words from the City Address.

Permit us, most Gracious Sovereign, with the pro"foundest Humility and Submission, to say,
"We always thought the Preservation of the Trade
of the Kingdom, and the Ballance of Power
in Europe, to be the main Motives for the War. A
"Cause so just was favour'd by Heaven; and the Arms
and Virtue of the Troops of Britain, with those of
her Confederates, prevail'd with such a Train of unparallel'd Successes, that we concluded our selves upon
the Point of being happy to the utmost of our Wishes.

"But when we were just seizing the Prize of our
"Conquests, with Horror we call to mind, That the
"British Arms were surprizingly withdrawn, and our
faithful Allies abandon'd----- Sad were the Consequences that ensu'd!

"The Reputation of the Kingdom was funk to Contempt, the humble Stile of the Enemy was quite altered, and France, from being in a Condition of fuing for a Peace, became the Dictator of it to those that had conquered: The People were mocked with Affurances of being free from the Danger of a neighbouring Fortress, and the best Branches of their Trade were

" exchang'd for Chimera's.

"Our Holy Church too was in Danger of being gi-"ven up to Popery, our Civil Rights to Tyranny, and the Way preparing for the Pretender. "All that had heen gain'd by a Profusion of Blood and Treasure in a glorious and successful War, was thrown up, and a free-born People brought within View of Slavery, when the Almighty once more interposed, by seating on the Throne your Sacred Majesty, his great Vicegerent.



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